1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 571 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 857 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment [464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately [885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 562 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 776 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 796 [184] (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 562 369 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns. 565 596 369 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 571 621 59 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class families are local. The areally and biologically extended families of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 ● Brazil SL1

000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [196] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnavál. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

BB [33] [28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Nuritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B [565] [562] [857] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community.

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapé, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.)

Houses: 45 workers' houses
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

---

1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão."

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay.

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business.

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple might have as many as twenty children. It was common among these large families for at least one child to enter the priesthood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only because of the smaller size of the families, but also because the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and settled in business; the families can no longer support married children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of being married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them have entered the professions, but recently it has become stylish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, without the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with their husbands and are now partners rather than household fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a desire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expected at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of family members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside acquaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, patriarchal families which gives people their status in the community as a whole and their right to enter new groups which form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1960-1961) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains home with her parents, taking care of them until they have passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrangements for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family.

Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only vestiges remain, which however are still important: the continued close relationship of family members, even though separated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cousins, and the strong pattern of life em família; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major departure from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home.

Birthdays are the most important occasions in these families aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the plantation, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an almoço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the planters sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them. The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil), and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

565* 596 589 73
565* 596 178
[562]
565* 596 527
565* 596 527 262

[Class B Families]

capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there is little social gathering, especially for the women. There are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one another's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marrying and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and festivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower-class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their mothers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class B Families]

and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

[Class D Families]

565*
736

Orphans, or children whose parents cannot care for them because of financial difficulties, are always taken in by some member of the family--an aunt, or uncle, or perhaps the grandparents if they are still alive, or the godparents.

592
565*
562*
[162]

The Class D family presents a very different picture from that of any of the other social classes in Vila Recôncavo. It is almost the reverse of the patriarchal upper-class family, for in Class D the woman is the chief member, the chefe de familia. In Vila Recôncavo, 90 of the 290 households counted in the 1950 census reported a woman as the family head. Of these, thirty listed themselves as widows, seventeen as married but with husbands who lived elsewhere, and forty-three as unmarried. It is difficult to determine with certainty how many of the women who declared themselves widows or married actually were so. It is a favorite device of Vila Recôncavo women who have lived in an unmarried relationship with a man and subsequently separated from him to say that they are widows. It is equally difficult to determine from these figures how many unmarried relationships are involved.

565*
592
[583]

The composition of these households almost defies classification. Fifty-five are composed of mothers and children, with the addition in some cases of relatives and an agregado (official census term designating someone who lives in the house permanently but does not pay for his board), as well as hospedes (census designation of someone who is staying in the house temporarily and who is not paying for his board). Of the fifty-five houses with children, twenty-four are represented by unmarried, female family heads. Eight of these twenty-four households list agregados of approximately the same age as the woman, which may indicate, although not necessarily so, amasiado relationships. The other households are composed of what appear to be "left overs" from other families or marital unions: elderly people who have outlived their own conjugal units, younger people whose families either never existed as legal units or have been dissolved, agregados, and hospedes. These ninety households include a total of 353 people, who can be classified as follows:

[162]

55 mothers
142 children
37 grandchildren
35 relatives, including mothers, aunts, cousins, sisters, brothers,

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

565
* 563

gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

363
[788]
[541]
• [562]

The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

[527]

[15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

363
[562].

sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

[362]
[565]

TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

361
563 *
162

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

125
563 *
796
[342]
[517]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

some reason male members of the seita rarely experience, as do the women members, the "manifestation" of an *orixá*. Consequently, very few males ever pass through the rigorous period of training which must always follow the initial "appearance" of a deity in a given individual. Moreover, the men, being more mobile than the women, are ordinarily brought into more extensive contact with the Europeans and their descendants and consequently tend to take over more readily the ideas and sentiments of the whites. The women, on the other hand, ordinarily remain more closely identified with the customs and traditions of their African ancestors. It is probably for this reason that several of the more prominent and influential *candomblés* in Bahia now have women leaders. For the head of a *seita*, upon his approaching death, ordinarily chooses the new priest (or priestess) from among those members of the cult who are most learned in the ritual and other tradition. When asked about the occasion for So-and-so's selection, cult members always say, "Ele [*or* ela] é muito sabido" ("He is very learned in the ritual").

Other sacred functionaries include the *ogans*, or male members of the *seita*, who assist the *pae* or *mãe de santo* with the ritual, particularly in invoking the presence of the *orixás* during ceremonial dances, help initiate new *ogans*, act as intermediaries between the *seita* and the legal authorities, and contribute toward the expenses of the cult; the *achôgun*, or "second *pae*" as he is often called, who performs the sacrifices; the *jibonam*, or *pequena mãe* ("little mother"), next in authority to the *mãe de santo*, who assists the ceremonial dancers in carrying out their *preceitos*, or ritualistic obligations, and who makes the *despacho*, or food offering, to Exú at the opening of each important ceremony; the musicians, who assist at certain secret rituals and all public cere-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 796 [562] As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accordance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right. [273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[1]

794 576 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 796 787 [114] When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure

[1] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

A stranger is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives.

The gradually improving status of women is today working against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper-class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed."

Although in recent years at least two feminists have become quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816-1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 230.

[9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264-65.

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or

*563 •592 829 192 826 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

826
*563 /13 cont./
•562 may not be of African blood (3).
829
192
[113]

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and
fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the
contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

144
*563
829
815
[113]

1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/31 cont./

829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no
regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense
reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly
marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical con-
dition. It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term
by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color
of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing
his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am
a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
*563 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who
attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about
their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
• [562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
[565] Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general.
A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems
do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even
among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons
to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black
has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the
men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking
the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Neverthe-
less, when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of
behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus
I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one
of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like
most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is
compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his
/32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where
he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where
he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 *563 565 156 contempt. In the highest strata of Bahia society, our informants say, a colored person generally does not suffer humiliations. It may even be that he is recognized as belonging to the most respected groups. A very dark Black practicing a liberal profession is irritated because in the organization where he works many people who do not know him take him for an office boy or an employee of inferior category. A female official, /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /33/ on the contrary, says that she and her family are fortunate and do not attribute any of their difficulties to the fact that they are dark mulattoes. "If I have never been able to pursue a career as I wished, it is because my father was poor and died young. For that reason I always say at home that we must not speak of certain things... Some people might believe that we suffer because of our color."

• [562] Among girls, who are more accustomed to discrimination than men, the feeling of inferiority can take quite peculiar forms: thus, a university student claims not to be disgusted with her color, "but she would like to be less homely." Finally, while not acknowledging it, a black woman practicing a liberal profession let the same frustration complex show by saying that she was very discouraged, when she was young, to hear herself called "a pretty little Black."

829 *563 565 571 An important aspect of the problem is created by the fact that the Blacks and the dark mulattoes of urban working circles, to the extent that they are aware of their civil and political rights, are less inhibited in their behavior in front of Whites. The latter feel resentment at the way in which "impudent Negroes" speak loudly in the street, pass in front of them, and do not yield them their place in the tramways and other means of transportation. These incidents take on an aggressive significance in the eyes of those who lay claim to being the dominant class by virtue of their physical or social appearance. In many cases the Blacks do not make use of their color as a distinctive sign of their group. An important mutual-aid association for Blacks has taken as its emblem two white hands held out to each other as a symbol of solidarity. In one of its reports this same organization personifies its own activity by a picture representing a white woman carrying a white child and two other white children with European features, who hold her embraced.

[SALVADOR]

/58 cont./

*563 647 [665] this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in public service. The colored women, as their level of education rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

*563 562 647

/59/ The Army

*563 70

Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

*563 706 874

[SALVADOR]

/75 cont./

*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and caboclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

I have seen many Negroes
At the altar in the act of saying Mass
And the caboclo, all that he achieves
Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and caboclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

*563 • 563 792 178

[SALVADOR]

/76 cont./

*563 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles
•562 and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored
792 or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or
178 very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests
793 of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined
[829] to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclesiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theo-
[874] logical seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/ Sports

*563 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil,
526 whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited
526 number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal
575 clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

[SALVADOR]

/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

[113]

1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajú, 1950, p. 246.

Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy provided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

The very select clubs having a predominance of members who are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal professions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say, showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories mentioned above is the following: